

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2689

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 287

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 3278

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: THE STATE OF PLAY ON FOLLOW-UP

1. SUMMARY: ALTHOUGH DISCUSSION ON FOLLOW-UP SO FAR HAS REMAINED ON THE LEVEL OF GENERALITIES, DISTINCT TACTICAL PATTERNS ARE NOW BEGINNING TO EMERGE. THIS MESSAGE ATTEMPTS TO DESCRIBE THE BROAD OUTLINES OF THE NEGOTIATING SITUATION SINCE THE RATE OF ACTION IS SOON LIKELY TO SPEED UP AND BECOME MORE COMPLEX. END SUMMARY.

2. IN SPITE OF VIRTUALLY ENDLESS DISCUSSION NEITHER SUBSTANTIVE AGREEMENTS NOR TEXTS OF ANY IMPORTANCE HAVE SO FAR BEEN WORKED OUT ON FOLLOW-UP, APART FROM A FEW PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPHS OF MARGINAL IMPORTANCE. NEVERTHELESS, THE OUTLINES OF THE TACTICAL SITUATION FACING US IN THIS FINAL STAGE IS GENERALLY EMERGING.

3. OUR CENTRAL PERCEPTION IS THAT THE USSR AND ITS WARSAW PACT COLLEAGUES, FOR RELATED BUT DIFFERENT REASONS THE ROMANIANS, AS WELL AS A NUMBER OF NEUTRALS,

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CONTINUE TO ATTACH CENTRAL IMPORTANCE TO THE FOLLOW-UP

AS A DEVICE BY WHICH THE TENTATIVE NEW CAST GIVEN TO EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIPS BY CSCE COULD BE DEEPENED AND PERPETUATED. THE ROMANIANS OBVIOUSLY HOPE THAT AN ACTIVE CSCE FOLLOW-UP WOULD GIVE THEM A PERMANENT FORUM IN WHICH HIGHLY VISIBLE PARTICIPATION ON THEIR PART COULD FURTHER LEGITIMIZE, AND PERHAPS SECURE THEIR CONTINUED INDEPENDENCE FROM THE BLOC. SOME NEUTRALS (E.G. YUGOSLAVS AND FINNS) HAVE SIMILAR REASONS FOR PREFERRING AN ACTIVE FOLLOW-UP. OTHERS LIKE MALTA, SWITZERLAND, AND SPAIN, WELCOME FOLLOW-UP ACTIVISM, BECAUSE IT WOULD ENHANCE THEIR OTHERWISE MINOR ROLES IN EUROPEAN COUNCILS. THE WARSAW PACT AND THE USSR ITSELF, EVIDENTLY CONTINUE TO PERCEIVE IN IT ONE OF THEIR TWO OR THREE MOST CRITICAL OBJECTIVES IN CSCE, I.E., THE MEANS FOR CASTING A NEW AURA OF POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS OVER THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT WHICH, HOWEVER SLIGHT IN THE BEGINNING, WOULD ASSURE THEM A PERMANENT, GROWING VOICE IN ALL MATTER OF WESTERN EUROPEAN AND MEDITERRANEAN ISSUES FROM WHICH THEY ARE NOW EXCLUDED. GIVEN THESE INTERACTING INTERESTS IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT THE USSR THIS WEEK EASILY OBTAINED AGREEMENT TO A 50 PERCENT INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF MEETINGS TO BE HELD ON FOLLOW-UP, WHICH WILL FOR THE NEXT WEEKS AT LEAST MAKE IT ONE OF THE MOST DISCUSSED SUBJECTS AT CSCE.

4. WHILE THE BASIC INTERESTS OF THE PROPONENTS OF AN ACTIVE FOLLOW-UP ARE CLEAR, THEIR TACTICAL INTENTIONS, PARTICULARLY AS TO THEIR ULTIMATE FALLBACK POSITIONS ARE LESS SO. FOR THE MOMENT, THE ROMANIANS HAVE HELD CENTER STAGE WITH A STRONG EFFORT, PROJECTED OVER THE LAST TWO WEEKS, AIMED AT SHOWING THAT, THROUGH DECISIONS ALREADY REACHED, THE PARTICIPATING STATES HAVE ALREADY COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO A WHOLE RANGE OF PROJECTS REQUIRING FOLLOW-UP THROUGH ACTIVE MULTILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS. THUS, IN A RECENT MAJOR SPEECH, WHICH WE UNDERSTAND WAS PUBLICIZED IN BUCHAREST, ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR LIPATTI ARGUED THAT AN "INVENTORY" HE MADE OF DECISIONS TAKEN IN CSCE SO FAR SUGGESTS THAT THERE ARE ALREADY "TWENTY TO FORTY" PROJECTS REQUIRING MULTILATERAL FOLLOW-UP BY CSCE EXPERTS' MEETINGS OR THROUGH ARRANGEMENTS TO BE MADE WITH INTERNATIONAL SECRET

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ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE ECE, WHO, FAO, UNESCO AND OTHERS. LIPATTI'S LIST INCLUDED PROJECTS SUCH AS PROPOSALS TO STUDY INTERNATIONAL LAW AS IT RELATES TO ENVIRONMENTAL QUESTIONS, PROJECTS FOR A CULTURAL DATA BANK, INVENTORIES OF CULTURAL TV PROGRAMS AND FILMS, INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF BOOKS, RESTORATION OF MONUMENTS, ETC. LIPATTI ADMITS THAT SOME OF THESE SUBJECTS ARE IN THEMSELVES OF MARGINAL IMPORTANCE, HOWEVER HIS

MAIN POINT, VIGOROUSLY SECONDED BY WARSAW PACT SPEAKERS, SUCH AS THE CZECHS, WAS THAT THESE AND FURTHER PROJECTS TO BE AGREED TO WILL IN ANY CASE REQUIRE FREQUENT FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS AND PERMANENT CSCE MACHINERY: A) TO REFLECT CSCE'S INTERESTS AND B), TO CONSTITUTE A "PERMANENT CSCE IDENTITY", PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS TO BE CHARGED WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CSCE DECISIONS. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS ARGUMENT, WHICH AVOIDS THEORETICAL APPEAL AND CLAIMS THAT CSCE HAS IN EFFECT ALREADY COMMITTED ITSELF TO AN ORGANIC FOLLOW-UP, HAS HAD APPEAL FOR A NUMBER OF NEUTRALS AND SMALLER PARTICIPANTS. THE SPANISH DELEGATION FOR INSTANCE VIGOROUSLY SECONDED LIPATTI'S SPEECH AND ARGUED THAT CSCE INDEED REQUIRED CONCRETE MULTINATIONAL CONTINUATION.

5. THE ALLIES' VIEWS, PARTICULARLY IN THE EC-NINE, ARE AT THIS STAGE DIVIDED. ALTHOUGH SEVERAL OF THE ALLIES RECOGNIZE THE CLEVERNESS AND APPEAL OF THE ROMANIAN ARGUMENT, IT IS GENERALLY AGREED THAT IT IS MISLEADING, IN THAT THERE ARE IN FACT ONLY A VERY FEW, IF ANY, AGREED TEXTS FORMALLY REQUIRING MULTILATERAL FOLLOW-UP. WE UNDERSTAND, FOR INSTANCE, THAT A PRELIMINARY EC-9 STUDY OF THE POINT TURNED UP ONLY ONE OR TWO SUCH PROPOSALS CALLING FOR FORMAL FOLLOW-UP AND NONE REQUIRING IT.

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6. HOWEVER, ON THE UNDERLYING ISSUES CONCERNING THE FOLLOW-UP, THE NINE ARE NOW SHARPLY SPLIT. ON ONE SIDE, ARE THE DUTCH, BELGIANS AND FRENCH, WHO WANT AS LITTLE FOLLOW-UP AS POSSIBLE; THE FORMER TWO OUT OF CONVICTION THAT IT IS NOT IN EUROPE'S INTEREST, THE FRENCH ALSO BECAUSE IT WOULD CAST SHADE ON THEIR "SPECIAL" MOSCOW TIES. THE FRENCH IN PARTICULAR WANT TO AVOID ANYTHING WHICH COULD POSE PROBLEMS FOR THE FURTHER EVOLUTION OF THE EC-9. ON THE OTHER SIDE THERE ARE THE UK AND THE DANES, WHO ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT QUITE FREQUENT MEETINGS OF EXPERTS AND SENIOR OFFICIALS, ARRANGEMENTS WHICH WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO A FAIRLY INTENSIVE FOLLOW-UP. THE REST OF THE NINE, NOTABLY THE ITALIANS AND THE FRG, AS WELL AS SOME OTHERS IN THE FIFTEEN, REMAIN CONSERVATIVE IN THEIR SUPPORT FOR A FAIRLY TIGHT INTERPRETATION OF THE DANISH TEXT, BECAUSE THEY ARE AFRAID THAT A TOO ACTIVE FOLLOW-UP WILL INCREASE THE USSR'S ROLE IN WESTERN EUROPE. FOR THE PRESENT, EVERYONE IS LOYALLY SUPPORTING THE DANISH TEXT. HOWEVER, WE ARE TOLD WITH INCREASING FREQUENCY THAT THESE UNDERLYING WESTERN EUROPEAN DIFFERENCES AS TO ITS ULTIMATE

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INTERPRETATION WILL PROVE DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE, AND SO MAY NOT LEAD TO A CLEAR WEST EUROPEAN CONSENSUS. AS A RESULT THERE IS A GROWING CONSCIOUSNESS THAT THIS SITUATION IS READY-MADE FOR USSR EXPLOITATION TO FISH IN TROUBLED WATERS.

AND, AS MIGHT BE EXPECTED, WE OURSELVES ARE BEING APPROACHED WITH INCREASING FREQUENCY BY WESTERN EUROPEAN DELEGATIONS, PARTICULARLY THOSE IN THE MORE CONSERVATIVE CAMP, AS TO THE POSITIONS WE ULTIMATELY PLAN TO TAKE: FOR INSTANCE, WITH REGARD TO THE DESIRABILITY OF SOME PERMANENT CSCE ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF; THE PREFERABILITY OF ONE-TIME AS AGAINST PERIODIC MEETINGS OF SENIOR OFFICIALS; THE FREQUENCY OF SUCH MEETINGS; AND THE RELATIONSHIP WE COULD CONCEIVE BETWEEN CSCE FOLLOW-UP ARRANGEMENTS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. WE HAVE ALSO BEEN ASKED WHETHER WE BELIEVE ANY FURTHER MAJOR CONCESSION SHOULD BE ASKED OF MOSCOW IN OTHER PARTS OF CSCE IN THE FINAL CRUNCH, IN RETURN FOR THE WEST'S EASING UP ON FOLLOW-UP.

7. CURIOUSLY, WE ARE NO LONGER QUITE CERTAIN TO WHAT EXTENT THE RUSSIANS THEMSELVES WILL IN THE END BE PREPARED TO DEFEND THE CZECH RESOLUTION, AND ITS KEY IDEA

OF A PERMANENT "ADVISORY COMMITTEE."
ACCORDING TO SOME CORRIDOR COMMENTS, WHICH WE REPORT FOR
WHAT THEY ARE WORTH BUT CANNOT VERIFY, THE SOVIETS MIGHT
BE PREPARED TO DROP THIS IDEA IF WESTERN RESISTENCE TO
IT CONTINUES TO BE SOLID AND PERSUASIVE. ACCORDING
TO THESE ACCOUNTS, THE SOVIETS MIGHT INSTEAD BE PRE-
PARED TO SETTLE FOR A PATTERN OF RELATIVELY FREQUENT
MEETINGS OF EXPERTS AND SENIOR OFFICIALS. IN ANY
CASE, THEY WILL WANT THE CSCE FOLLOW-UP TO BE ACTIVE,
TO GIVE THEMSELVES, NOT ONLY MORE SECURE FRONTIERS,
BUT A NEW ROLE IN PAN-EUROPEAN RELATIONS.

8. AS DISCUSSION OF FOLLOW-UP DEVELOPS WE WILL FOLLOW IT
CLOSELY AND ASK FOR FURTHER GUIDANCE AS THE ISSUES INVOLVED BECOME
MORE CONCRETE. ABRAMS

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